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I.—THE ASSYRIAN *E*-VOWEL.

Within the last few years the existence of an *e*-vowel in Assyro-Babylonian as well as in Sumero-Akkadian has been not infrequently denied. Hommel promised, p. 463 of his *Semiten*, soon to give full evidence that *e* never existed in Sumero-Akkadian. Although more than three years have since elapsed, a comprehensive treatment of the subject has not yet appeared. As I remarked, II ZK 272, 3, we have been rather "contenting ourselves with *Edicten und Zustimmungsadressen*." Hommel published only a few short remarks, *Zur Lautbestimmung von i* (I ZK 72 and 73), confining himself, "*da der Raum für dieses erste Heft nicht überschritten werden sollte*," to pointing out the chief reasons which had led him to his conclusion. To this Dr. Bezold made some additional remarks, reserving for one of the succeeding numbers of the *Zeitschrift* a brief history of the transcription of the characters for *i*, as well as some further discussions on the "interesting question raised by Dr. Hommel." Thus far this promise has not been fulfilled. Lyon, too, in his *Assyrian Manual*, has given us only a *Wechsel auf die Zukunft*. He says, *l. c.* xxvii, §7, 1: "Some students believe that the Assyrians did have separate signs for *e*-syllables, but it is clear from an examination of the cuneiform texts that the signs for *i* and those supposed to represent *e* are used interchangeably." "I have collected considerable material on the subject which I hope some day to publish."

Other expressions of opinion with regard to the *e*-vowel are given in Delitzsch's AS 16, AL² 2; Oppert, GGA 1878, in his review of Delitzsch's AL²; Haupt, SFG 65-68; Pognon, *Bavian*, 161; Lotz, TP 72 and 73; C. F. Lehmann's Inaugural Dissertation, p. 36.

In the following paper I shall subject the question of the pronunciation of this *e*-vowel to a new examination.

First of all, I should like to remark that the signs for *i* and *e* are not throughout confounded with one another. As I have shown, SFG 68, the historical orthography with *e* is in certain cases regularly retained. I know of no instance in which *ḡi-e-ru* "plain" is written *ḡi-i-ru*, and there will hardly be any passages found in which for *ri-e-šu* "head," *ḡi-e-nu* "sheep," *ri-e-mu* "grace," *ri-i-šu*, *ḡi-i-nu*, *ri-i-mu* are written. *Ri-i-mu*, i. e. *rīmu*, means "wild ox," *ri-e-mu*, i. e. *remu*, on the other hand, "grace."¹ Cf. further *neru* "foo" and *nīru* "yoke," *ṣeru* "morning" and *šīru*¹ "flesh," *ṣeru* "plain" and *ḡīru* "lofty." Similarly, the prefixed *w* of the causative stems of verbs 𐤨𐤍 and the infixed *n* of the reflexive-passive stems of the same verbs are regularly written with a following *e*. Consequently we cannot say that there is no difference at all in the use of the signs for *i* and *e*.

It is true that the original *e*, as in many languages, became *i* in course of time: *rīšu* or *rešu* "head," *kīnu* or *kenu* "righteous," were pronounced *rīšu*, *kīnu*, just as the Western Syrians say *rīšō*, *kīnō* for the Eastern-Syriac *rēšā*, *kēnā* (Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, §46).² Accordingly, the characters for *i* and *ī*, i. e. *e*, are frequently confounded in writing: for *ṣumelu* "left" they wrote *ṣu-mi-lu*, for *emur* "he saw" (cf. E. Syr. *nēmar*, W. Syr. *nīmar*), *i-mur*, etc. On the other hand, we find *e-mit-tu* "right side," for *imittu* (= *imintu*, fem. to ܡܝܢܬܐ), *simāte*³ "distinctions" for *simāti*,⁴

¹ In distinguishing between *e* and *i* Delitzsch is very inconsistent. *Hebr. Langu.* 7 e. g. and AL³, p. 15, No. 118 and p. 145, s. v. רִמּוּ he correctly reads *rimu* "wild ox," in his *Proleg.* p. 16, on the other hand, *rēmu*; so, too, he gives correctly, *Proleg.* 47, and *Schrifttafel*, No. 119, *šīru* "flesh," while in the *Glossary* to AL³ he writes *šēru*.

² The Eastern Syrians at present pronounce the old *ē* very much like *i*, no matter whether it corresponds to a W. Syriac *i* or *e*, though there is still some difference between this *e* and the ordinary *i*. Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* p. 31, note; *Neo-Syr. Gramm.* p. 9.

³ The stem is, as Flemming, p. 41, 37, pointed out, ܣܡܝܬܐ ; cf. *asāmu*, S^b 100. *Simtu*, plur. *simāti*, is a formation like *biltu*, plur. *bilāti* "tribute" (*Hebraica*, III 107, 2), and the name of the third month *Simānu* (*Esth.* 8, 9: ܣܝܡܢܐ) is a form like *lūdānu* "offspring" (*II R.* 36, 52; 37, 21) from ܠܕܐ . The *ī* in ܣܝܡܢܐ is certainly no proof for a derivation from ܡܝܢܬܐ .

⁴ Why Delitzsch reads the feminine plural ending *ātē* instead of *āti*, I do not know. Does he perhaps assume a double plural ending? an addition of the masculine plural ending *e* to the feminine plural, as in Hebrew בָּנוּתַי or in בָּנוּתַיִם (Gesenius, §87, 5, rem. 1; §91, 3)? Or does he read *ātē* merely on the basis of passages like *ep-še-te-e-šu lim-ni-e-ū*, *III R.* 15, 13b or *V R.* 6, 109,

niribite šupšugâte "impassable straits" for *neribeti šupšugāti*, etc., etc.

where, alongside of *si-ma-ti-ša*, the spelling *si-ma-te-e-ša* occurs? This *i-i*, I suppose, expresses only a long *i* arisen from *i* under the influence of the accent: *si-ma-ti-i-ša* stands for *simatīša*. The length of the vowel is probably to be considered here as in *mu-ša-bu-u-ka* (i. e. *mūšabūka* or rather *mōšabūka*) "thy dwelling," IV R. 31, 27b, or *ar-na-a-šu*, *arnāšu* "his sin," V R. 3, 17. Besides it is not certain that *simati* is plural in this case. Perhaps *simati* is to be read as singular with short *a*. For the preservation of the *a* before the feminine ending, generally syncopated in analogous cases, cf. forms like *hīratu* "wife" = *hīrtu*, II R. 36, 43; *kīšatu* "forest" = *kīštu*, II R. 23, 46 and 43; *kīmatu* "family" = *kīmtu*, II R. 29, 73; *rī'atu* "spirit" = *rātu*, S^b 85; *rebitu* "broad way" (= *raḥabatu*, *raḥbatu*, SFG 16, 6) alongside of forms like *beltu* "lady," *neštu* "lioness," *kettu* (= *kentu*) "righteousness"; *belītu* "lady" (= *beltu*, II R. 36, 63); *adamatu* "blood" (S^b 225; II R. 37, 60) alongside of forms like *alaktu* "course," *mahiṣatu* (cf. *ḥaziḡatu*, V R. 28, 13) = *mahištu*, V R. 17, 46; *tubuḡatu* "region," II R. 35, 38 = *tubuḡtu*, S^b 221, etc. Accordingly, we could safely assume alongside of *simti* a singular form *simati*.—The *i* in the feminine plural ending *āti* is due, just as the *i* in the masculine plural ending *āni* for *āmi*, to dissimilation; the primitive forms were *āta*, *āna* or *āma*, and *āti*, the masculine plural ending of adjectives and participles, as well as *āni*, the fuller plural ending of the third person plural of verbs, rest, as I pointed out SFG 70, below, on analogy.—A trace of the old plural ending *āni* in Aramean—not to speak of the feminine plural forms in *ān*, mentioned SFG 70, 71—seems to be preserved in the Syriac plural forms in *ānē*, cited by Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* §74: e. g. *šallīā* "governor," plur. *šallīē* or *šallīānē* like Assy. *šarre* or *šarrāni* "kings" from *šarru* "king"; cf. also Nöldeke, *Neusyr. Gramm.* p. 126; *Mand. Gramm.* p. 169; Duval, §265. The final *ē* of *šallīānē* seems to me due to analogy. According to Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.* p. 69, מַלְכֵי, Cant. 2, 12, as plural to מֶלֶךְ and מְלָכִים, Prov. 24, 31 from מְלֹכִים, are probably to be put in the same category. Nöldeke himself referred to the Assyrian plural ending *āni*: *šalmāni* plur. of *šalmu* (constr. *šalami*) "images."—If alongside of *šalmāni* we find *šalmānu* in Assyro-Babylonian (*šal-ma-a-nu*, Beh. 106), it is an analogical formation based upon singular forms with the affix *ān* like *ḥarrānu* "road" (plene *ḥar-ra-a-nu*, V R. 55, 16) from Assy. חָרַר "to be narrow" (cf. *sāqu* "street" from Assy. סָק "to be narrow," in Arabic with assimilation of the *ḍ* to the *ḡ*: ضيق); *mātānu* or *mōtānu* "pestilence," II R. 36, 5 (Syriac *mautānā*, Nöld. §128); *lišānu* "tongue" (plene *li-ša-a-nu*, IV R. 20, 24) from *lāšu* "to lick" (Arabic لَحَس, see *Hebraica*, I 178, 4), etc. Similarly the *u* in the feminine plural ending *ātu* for *āti* (e. g. *ḥarrānātu* "roads," Nimr. 24, 5) is based on the analogy of the feminine singular forms like *amātu* (= **amājātu*) "word," *ahātu* (V R. 39, 64) "sister," *kamātu* "surrounding wall," *paḥātu* "government," *piḥātu* "governor," *išātu* "fire," *rubātu* "the great one" (V R. 13, 45; 39, 66). That is also the case with the accusative *a* in the feminine plural ending: e. g. *lišānāta*, Bezold, *Achaemeniden-Inschriften*, p. 37, VII, O, 16; cf. *ibid.*, p. xi.

But it does not by any means follow from this graphical confusion of *i* and *ī* that these two vowels were not distinguished even in the earliest period; it only shows that in the course of time they converged. We have a similar case in Ethiopic. Here the two sibilants, *Shaut* and *Sât*, which correspond to the Arabic ش and س (or etymologically also to ث), are sounded alike as *s*, and consequently are continually confounded with one another in the manuscripts; but no one denies that the *Shaut* was originally pronounced *sh*. Similarly, we find in the Neo-Punic inscriptions alongside of חוּי "vixit," the spellings עוּי, אוּי, עוּח, הוּע, עוּע, אוּח, עוּא (Schröder, 82); accordingly the guttural letters are confounded with one another indiscriminately. Nevertheless, it is beyond all doubt that אַחַח were originally in Phœnician sharply distinguished.

Confusion of the characters in writing does not even show that the sounds were not distinguished in pronunciation. In Ethiopic manuscripts the consonants *Ṣadai* and *Dappā*,¹ which correspond etymologically to Arabic ص (or ظ) and ض, are not infrequently confounded, and yet no Abyssinian would ever confound *Ṣadai* and *Dappā* in speaking; cf. Trumpp, ZDMG XXVIII 518; Prætorius' Ethiopic Grammar, p. 8. Accordingly, it is quite possible, in spite of all the confusion of the characters for *i* and *e* in writing, that even in the latest period an *e* was spoken, at least in certain words.

I shall first treat, in the following pages, of the instances in which an *ī* in Assyro-Babylonian loan-words is rendered by an *ē* in other languages; and, secondly, I shall bring forward the parallel cases in which Assyro-Babylonian *ī* corresponds to *ē* in similar formations of the cognate idioms.

I. Rendering of *ī* in Assyro-Babylonian Loan- Words by *ē*.

1. One of the clearest examples is furnished us by the ancient Babylonian divine name *Bil*, construct state of *bīlu* "lord," *plene*

¹ The so-called emphatic consonants *ṭ*, *ḳ*, *p̣*, are pronounced in Ethiopic as tenues with glottal catch (*festem Absatz*). Accordingly they would be better transcribed *ṭ̣*, *ḳ̣*, *p̣̣*. Similar sounds are found in Armenian in the pronunciation of Tiflis and Erzerum, and in Georgian; cf. Sievers, *Phonetik*, 3d ed. p. 137. The Abyssinian *Dappā* is a German *z*, i. e. *ts*; *Ṣadai*, on the other hand, is an *affricata* with glottal catch like *ṭ̣* in the Tiflis Armenian (Sievers³, 158).

bi-t-lu or *bi-i-lu*. In Herodotus the name appears in the form Βήλος; cf. Herod. I 181: Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον. So, too, we find in Latin corresponding to η a long ē, e. g. Ovid. Metam. IV 213:

Rexit Achaemenias urbes pater Orchamus, isque
Septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo.

Bel appears here as the founder of Babylon and the Assyrian empire.

In the Old Testament we meet the name in the form בֵּל, so we have again an *e*-vowel; cf. Is. 46, 1: בָּרַע בֵּל קָרַס נְבוֹ "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth"; Jer. 50, 2: הוֹבִישׁ בֵּל חֵת מִרְדָּךְ "Bel is ashamed, Merodach is broken"; Jer. 51, 44: וַיִּפְקְדֵנִי עַל-בֵּל בְּנִבְל "I will punish Bel in Babylon." The same pronunciation appears in the name Belshazzar, Hebr. בִּלְשַׁצַּר, i. e. Babylonian *Bel-šar-ušur* "Bel protect the king," and in Βήλιβος, i. e. *Bel-epuš* (or *Bel-ibus*) "Bel made," the name of Merodach-Baladan's successor, whom Sennacherib appointed in Babylon.

If *Bi-t-lu* was not pronounced *belu*, but *bīlu*, why then was it not written בֵּיל instead of בֵּל?

Bel's consort was named *Belit* (for *belat* III R. 7, col. I 3, on account of the preceding *e*), construct state of *beltu* "lady" (= *ba'latu* II R. 36, 61). In Herodotus the name appears in the form Μύλιτα. Change of *m* and *b* can be observed in several cases in Babylonian: for מִרְדַּךְ-בִּלְאִין, Babyl. *Marduk-bal-iddina* "Merodach has given a son," we read 2 Kings 20, 12: בְּרִאדָךְ-בִּלְאִין, and the name of the city *Haleb* "Aleppo," appears in the Kurkh monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II¹ as *Halman*. Similarly, we find, instead of the *m* in the Akkadian name of the "cypress" *šurman*, Assy. *šurmenu* in Aramean אֲמַנ; cf. Targumic שׁוּרְמָנָא (or rather שׁוּרְבָנָא), Cant. 1, 17; 3, 9; Talmudic שׁוּרְבָנָא, Gitt. 68b below, modern Arabic شربین *sharbtin* (Immanuel Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, No. 333).

Μύλιτα is accordingly = *Belit*. On the change of *v* and *η* cf. Sayce, *Accadian Phonology*, 7;² Haupt, SFG 51-55, CV 31, 20.

¹ This is the text in which Ahab of Israel is mentioned as *Ahabbu Sir'alā'a*. Cf. Schrader, COT 187 below; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 274; RP III 81.

² "Thus *tu*, 'a dove,' also appears as *te*, presupposing *tū*." Cf. *op. cit.* pp. 2 below; 5, 1; 8.

More accurate is the rendition of the name in Hesychius, who furnishes the gloss: Βῆλθις·¹ ἡ Ἑρα ἡ Ἀφροδίτη. This Βῆλθις is = *Belti*, or rather בִּלְתִּי (with spirantic *th*), which properly means "my lady"; cf. the English "Our Lady," French "Notre-Dame" for the Blessed Virgin; Hebr. אֲדֹנֵי prop. "my lords" for יהוה and the Phœnician ʾΑδωνις, *i. e.* אֲדֹנִי "my lord." The *θ* in Βῆλθις indicates the spiration of the *ת* occurring in Assyro-Babylonian² just as well as in Syriac and Hebrew. Cf. *e. g.* Ταυθέ (Damascius, *Quaestiones de primis principiiis*, ed. Jos. Kopp, p. 384) for the Babylonian *Tāvtu*, *Tāmtu* (תַּמְתָּא) "Sea" = *tāmatu*, **tahmatu*, Hebr. תְּהוֹם and the New Testament μάργα for מַרְתָּא, Luke 10, 40; John 11, 19.³

In Sanchoniathon, ed. Orelli (Leipzig, 1826), p. 38, Βααλτις appears as a surname of Astarte, just as in the cuneiform texts we find in Phœnician proper names *baal* instead of the Assyro-Babylonian *belu*. According to Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache* (Halle, 1869), p. 145, 2, the vowel *i* is a part of the Greek ending -ις, Βααλτις going back to בַּעֲלִית, not to בִּעֲלִית "my lady"; cf. Renan, *Mém. sur Sanchon.* (*Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, t. XXIII, p. 315). This may hold good for Phœnician Βααλτις as well as for the other names cited by Schröder, Ἀναίτις = עֲנַת, Χουσαρβις = חוּשַׁרְבֵּת, Κάδστις, Herod. 2, 159; 3, 5 for Κάδυστις = קִדְשֵׁת "sancta" (sc. urbs = Jerusalem), although the *θ* in Χουσαρβις is not in favor of this view. That the *i* in Βῆλθις, however, is really the suffix of the first person is shown by the Syro-Arabic gloss, No. 2480, in Bar Ali's Lexicon, ed. Geo. Hoffmann (Kiel, 1874), p. 88.

Here we read: בִּלְתִּי הִי אֶפְרוֹדִיטָא الكوكب الذي يعرف بالزهرة
el-kôkab alladî zu'raf bil-zuhare "Aphrodite the star known by the name of Zuhare," *i. e.* the planet Venus. Cf. Lagarde in the London *Academy* of Dec. 15, 1870; reprinted *Symmicta*, Vol. I, Göttingen, 1877. Lagarde has shown there that the name also occurs in the passage Is. 10, 4. Instead of the unintelligible בִּלְתִּי כִרְעֵת חַת אֲסִיר we should read: בִּלְתִּי כִרְעֵת חַת אֲסִיר "Belthis is sinking, Osiris has been broken."

One of my students called my attention to the fact that Abraham

¹ So we have to read instead of Βῆλθις (M. Schmidt).

² See my remarks in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* for August, 1887, p. 117 ff., *On the pronunciation of tr̥ in Old Persian*.

³ Cf. also Syriac feminine forms like שְׁעֵתָא, סְכֵתָא, טְכֵתָא, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* §23, E, p. 17.

Geiger already in 1863 took בְּלִתִּי = Bēlθis in one passage of the Canon. He thinks (in his *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, Vol. II, Breslau, 1863, p. 259) that the passage II Kings 23, 10: וְטָמַא אֶת-הַתֶּפֶת אֲשֶׁר בְּגִי כְנִזְ-הֶנָּם לְבִלְתִּי לְהַעֲבִיר אִישׁ אֶת-בְּנוֹ וְאֶת-בִּתּוֹ “And he defiled Topheth which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech,” should rather be translated: “He defiled the burning place which was in the valley of the children of Hinnom *for Beltis*, causing every man to burn his son and his daughter with fire to Molech.” Geiger refers to Jer. 32, 35; Carmina Barhebraei, ed. Lengerke, III, p. 5, l. 9; Lagarde, *Analecta*, p. 137, l. 22. The latter passage is also cited by Lagarde, *l. c.*, who quotes, besides, p. 16 of his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866), and Selden, *De diis Syris*, p. 156.¹

Geiger's view on II Kings 23, 10 seems to me as unacceptable as Lagarde's conjecture on Is. 10, 4 is obvious. At all events it is clear that the *i* in the name of the god *Bil* and his consort *Bilit* was originally pronounced *e*.

2. A second instance of the rendering of a Babylonian *i* by *η* is afforded by the name of the number 600 in the combined decimal-sexagesimal system of the Babylonians. The cuneiform spelling of the word is given in Col. III of the Trilingual Vocabulary ASKT 110, 41 (cf. AL³ 130, l. 138; V R. 12, 39) as *ni-i-r[u]*, the fragment of a duplicate (RM 2, II 415, published by myself II ZK 279) giving the variant *ni-i-ir* as V R. 18, 23b. This *niru* appears Syncellus 30, 6 (*Eusebi Chronicorum liber prior*, ed. Alfred Schoene, Berlin, 1875, col. 8) as νῆρος: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Βηρωσσὸς διὰ σάρων² καὶ νήρων καὶ σῶσσων ἀνεγράψατο· ὃν ὁ μὲν σάρος τρισχίλιων καὶ ἑξακοσίων ἐτῶν χρόνον σημαίνει, ὁ δὲ νῆρος ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων, ὁ δὲ σῶσσος ἐξήκοντα. It might be objected that the *η* in this case could express an *i*; however, the *η* is most likely based on correct tradition.³

3. The same doubt might be raised against the gloss of Hesychius (rec. Mor. Schmidt, Jena, 1862, Vol. IV, p. 14): σάνη, or rather σαύη· ὁ κόσμος Βαβυλώνιοι. Σαύη is the Babylonian *šame* “heaven” (plene *ša-mi-i* IV R. 20, No. 3, 18), which in later times

¹ Cf. also Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, Göttingen, 1884, p. 210.

² Cuneiform *ša-ar*, i. e. *šar*, AL³ 70, top line; cf. Delitzsch, “*Soss, Ner, Sar*,” *ÄZ*, 1878, p. 56.

³ The Armenian version has, according to the great Armenian Lexicon (Venice, 1836-37), *νερ*.—Lagarde.

was pronounced *šavē* or in Assyrian *save*, *savē*, with an *s* instead of *š*. This can hardly be advanced as an evidence for the pronunciation of *i* as *e*; here too, however, it is the most natural assumption to ascribe the *η* to correct tradition.

4. The *e* of the plural of masculine substantives in Assyro-Babylonian¹ is also rendered by *η* in the name of Sennacherib, meaning "Sin (the moon-god) has increased the brothers," Assy. *Sin-ahe-erba*² (or *-erib*), *Sinaherba*, *Sinaherib*. In the LXX, Josephus, Berossus we find for it *Σενναχηρίμ*, *Σενναχηρείμ*, *Σεναχήριβος*; Herod. II 141: *Σαναχάριβος βασιλεὺς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων*. In *Σαναχάριβος* the *a* instead of *η* may be due to the influence of the following *ρ*; besides, the *e* in *ahe*, as well as in *erba*, *erib*, arose from a primitive *a*. In *Σενναχηρίμ*, for which *Σενναχηρείμ* is merely another spelling, the double *ν* is probably due to progressive assimilation of the *ν*, as in Assy. *innabit* "he fled" for *in'abit*, *innamir* "he was seen" for *in'amir*; cf. also *Ῥάββηλος* = *רַב־בֵּלֹס*, Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, p. 95. Concerning the change between *μ* and *β* we have already remarked above. In accordance with the *η* in *Σενναχηρίβος* we find a *צָרִי* in Hebrew: the name appears in the Old Testament as *סִנְחָרִיב* (II Kings 19, 20, *defective*: *סנחרב*), for which it might, perhaps, be better to write *סִנְחָרִיב*.

5. One of the most important instances for the rendering of *i* by *e* is furnished by the name of the tenth Babylonian month,³ which appears in Esther 2, 16 in the form *בְּחֹדֶשׁ הָעֲשָׂרִי הוּא-חֹדֶשׁ טֵבֵת*. The cuneiform spelling is, according to the List of Months published in my ASKT 44 and 64 (reproduced AL³ 92), *Ti-bi-t-tu*.

¹ That the spelling with *ē* for the plural ending of the masculine substantives rests only on a combination with the plural ending *ē* of the construct state in Hebrew, as Dr. Ernst Müller, I ZA 363, §5, remarks, is a very strange notion.

² The stem of *erib* is *ארב*. To this stem must also be referred Hebr. *אַרְבֵּה* "locust," Assy. *eribā* (written *e-ri-bu-u*, II R. 24, 14). *אַרְבֵּה* stands for *אַרְבֵּה**. The *'* does not belong to the stem, but is a nominal derivative suffix as in *בְּרִילִי*. For *הָ = 'ה* cf. *שָׁרָה = שָׁר'* and Lagarde, *Semitica*, I, pp. 19 and 68; *Synmicta*, II 101. In *אַרְבֵּה*, the *א* might be explained as prosthetic, like the *א* before an initial *ר* in Syriac, *אַרְקִי* "firmament" for *רְקִי* (Nöld. §51), or the *א* in Hebr. *אֶגְרוֹן* "clinchd hand" (Ges. §85, No. 45), Ex. 21, 18; Is. 58, 4. Assyrian *eribā*, however, cannot be derived from *רב*. A prefixed *e* would be impossible. In Syriac we find, instead of *ארב*, the stem *רַב־*, impf. *נֶאֱרַב*, which is related to *ארב* like *יֵלֵךְ* to *אֵלֵךְ* or *יֵרֵךְ* "to be long" to *אֵרֵךְ*.

³ Cf. the Talmudic tract Taanith (6^b) translated by D. O. Straschun, Halle, 1883, p. 28.

Hebrew מִבֵּית plainly shows that this was pronounced *Tebētu*, and not *Tibitu*. The latter would, as I have remarked, II ZK 272, have become מִבֵּית in Hebrew. Friedrich Delitzsch (*Hebr. Langu.* 16) derives the name from טָבַע. It means, he thinks, "sinking in water." He might have mentioned that C. B. Michaelis had already referred מִבֵּית to the stem טָבַע in the sense of طبع "to be soiled," explaining it as the "muddy month." This could be found in Fürst's Lexicon, whose remarks under טָבַע seem to have helped Delitzsch to his statements, e. g. on p. 172 of the *Prolegomena*.

6. Another Babylonian loan-word in the Old Testament is הֵיכָל "palace, temple" (plur. Hos. 8, 14: הֵיכָלוֹת = Assy. *ekallāti*), which passed into Syriac in the form *haikēlā*, and thence into Arabic and Ethiopic. The diphthong is here only a secondary development from *e*.¹ הֵיכָל "palace," certainly does not come from Arabic هَيْكَل *haikal* "large, high." On the contrary, it is much more probable that هَيْكَل² means properly "like a palace." הֵיכָל, Assy. *ikallu*, goes back to Akkadian *e-gal* "domus magna," *e* being = Assy. *bītu* "house," and *gal* = Assy. *rabū* "great"; cf. S^b 232 and 124; IV R. 5, 31c; Schrader, HI 148; ASKT 74, 19. Hommel thinks (I ZK 73) that הֵיכָל proves nothing for the pronunciation *ekallu*; if the word was pronounced *ikallu*, he says, the *i* would, according to Hebrew phonetic rules, have become *e* in an open pre-tonic syllable just as well. I do not know whether Hommel, in his pronunciation *ikallu*, considers the *i* long or short. It can hardly have been short, since from *ikāl* הֵכָל would have arisen in Syriac, but *haikal* never. If, however, the word was pronounced *ikallu*, I do not see why this should not have been rendered in Hebrew by אֵיכָל or הֵיכָל. This would

¹ Cf. Syr. *ṣarūaiṇā* "cypress" = Babyl. *ṣurmenu*, *ṣurvenu* (BAL 88, 1).

² Fränkel, in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung der mehrlautigen Bildungen im Arabischen* (Leyden, 1878), p. 16, prefers to connect هَيْكَل with a stem

هَكَل. Cf. the inaugural dissertation of the same author, *De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis*, Leyden, 1880, p. 17, below. Fränkel's new book on the same subject is not accessible to me. [See now: *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, von Siegmund Fränkel, Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1886, p. 274.]

have been a form like the name of Saul's daughter, David's wife, מִיכָל or the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον מִיכָל "brook" (cf. II Sam. 17, 20: עָבְרוּ מִיכָל הַמָּיִם "they be gone over the brook of water"), which, according to Delitzsch (*Hebr. Langu.* 20), corresponds to Assy. *mikal-tu*^m, II R. 38, 19. The spelling מִיכָל, as well as the Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic *haikal*, clearly shows that *i* in Assyro-Babylonian was pronounced *e*.

7. Similar to מִיכָל is, according to Hommel (I ZK 73, n. 1), the case of the divine name נִרְגַל (cf. II K. 17, 30: אֲנֹשִׁי-כֹחַ עָשׂוּ אֶת-נִרְגַל "the men of Cuth made Nergal"). But this holds good only inasmuch as this name likewise shows that *i* was pronounced *e*. Hommel reads the name (*Semiten*, 512) *Nirgal*. This, however, would have become in Hebrew נִרְגַל, not נִרְגֵל just as little as נִכְבֵר becomes נִכְבֵר. As Delitzsch remarked (*Chald. Gen.* 275), the primitive form of the name is not *nirgal*, but *nī-unu-gal* (cf. IV R. 24, No. 1). *Ni* is, according to S^b 2, 14 = *emūqu* "might," *unu* (S^b 190) = *šubtu* "dwelling," and *gal* (as in *e-gal*) = *gal* "great." *Unugal* "great dwelling," denotes especially like *uru-gal*, which, S^b 192, corresponds to the Assyrian *qabru* "grave," "Hades," and the list of gods cited by Delitzsch (III R. 67, 69 c. d.) plainly shows that the god *Ni-unu-gal* is the god with the sword (*namšari*, S^b 210), of the grave (*ša qabri*). Whether *uru-gal* arose from *unugal*, *uru*, *ur* "city" (dial. *eri*) being a modification of *unu*, a nominal formation from *nu* "to settle," with a vocalic augment, is uncertain. At all events *Ni-unu-gal* or contracted *Ninugal* could very well become with dissimilation *Nirugal*, just as in Aramean תַּיִן "two" becomes תֵּיִן. *g* was in Akkadian (as in Assyrian) pronounced as a spirant after a preceding vowel, and this explains the *ḡ* in נִרְגֵל. The preceding שׁוֹ is a vocal *Shēwâ*, as in סַרְגִּין, Is. 20, 1 = *Šarrukenu*.¹

¹ The interchange between *ḡ* and *ḡ*, *i. e.* *خ* and *غ* also takes place in the name תִּקְלַת-פָּלֶאֶסֶר = Assy. *Tukulti-pal-ēsarra* or perhaps *Tūklāt-pal-esar*. תִּקְלַת was pronounced in Hebrew תִּקְלַת, and *tukulti* or *tuklat* in Assyrian تِكْلَت. Cf. further Babylonian *Agamatanu* and אֶגְמַתָּא (Greek Ἀγβάτανα and Ἐκβάτανα). The *g* in *Agamatanu* was pronounced like *غ* and the *خ* in אֶגְמַתָּא stands for *ḡ*.

8. The same influence of a vocalic Shēwâ, reduced from an Assyrian full vowel, on a following consonant, is witnessed in Syriac נַאֲרִיבָא, which, as Geo. Hoffmann first recognized in his *Extracts from Syriac Acts of Persian Martyrs*, is identical with Assyrian *neribu*, plur. *neribeti*; cf. AKM VII 3, p. 225, n. 1794. Through Hoffmann's kindness I had the opportunity in Kiel, in the beginning of 1880, of seeing the proof-sheets of his work, then going through the press, and was thus enabled to communicate to Dr. Lotz the remarks printed, p. 143, n. 1 of his *Tiglath-pileser*. נַאֲרִיבָא also occurs as a name of different places, not only as Nöldeke has remarked (*Mand. Gramm.* 135, 2) in the East near Mōṣul, but also in the neighborhood of Damascus and Aleppo. The Arabs write نيربا or نيرب, Greek Νήραρος (Steph. Byz. from Nicol. Dam.). Nöldeke, *l. c.*, is inclined to derive the word from נַאֲרַב, נַאֲרַב; Hoffmann thinks we might possibly connect it with وارب *warb* and نيرب, used of the wind furrowing the sand with ridges. From the Assyrian point of view both of these etymologies are impossible; *neribu* can only be derived from *erēbu* "to enter." It stands for *nerabu*, *nārabu*, *na'rabu*, *naḡrabu* from the stem غرب, whence עֶרֶב (Assyr. *erēbu*) "sunset, evening" (כְּבוֹא הַשָּׁמֶשׁ), and means "entrance, pass," then "hollow, gorge," like Ethiopic *ba'at* "cavern," from *bḏ'a* "to enter" (BAL 96, 3). The vocalic change under the influence of the guttural is the same as in *šelibu* "fox" = *šelabu* (III R. 15, 16 b), شَلَب, ثعلب or *rebitu* "broad way" = رَجَبَة, رَجَبَة (SFG 16, 6; *Hebraica*, II 5, 4). The عِي in the name نيرب is as little evidence for a derivation from a stem ʿ as the ʿ in هیکل. The عِي merely expresses a Syriac ʿ [as in کيوان "Saturn" = ܕܝܐܢ].

¹ Arabic عِي is rendered by Assyrian *e* in the Gentilicium *Te-ma-a-a* (Del. Pd. 301; COT 135, below; KGF 211), *i. e.* an inhabitant of ܬܡܐܐ, Arab.

تِيبَا (LXX Θαιμαν).

9. The Arabic *ai* is to be regarded as the *ai* in the LXX αἰαμ = Hebr. אֵי, אֵי "πρόναος," Ezech. 40, 16-36; cf. Cornill, 226; Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, 101. Here, too, we have only the rendering of an Assyro-Babylonian *i*. As remarked in the *Specimen Glossarii Ezechielico-Babylonici auctore Friderico Delitzsch* (in Baer's edition of Ezechiel, p. x), אֵי "Babylonismus est, nam Babylonice quodvis antiquum *elamu* dicitur." *Elamu*, or rather *ellamu*, is chiefly used in Assyrian as a preposition in the sense of "before" both of time and place, *e. g.* Sennach. II 77: *ina tāmirti āli Altaḡū el-la-mu-u-a si-id-ru šit-ku-nu*, i. e. *ellamū'a sidru šitkunū* "in face of the city of Eltekeh in front of me they placed their battle-array"; and Sennach. V 47: *ellamū'a ina āli Halūle ša kišād nārī Idignat šitkunū sidirta* "in front of me, near the city of Halūle on the bank of the river Tigris they drew up their battle-array." With the spelling *il* instead of *el* and the meaning "before" (temporal) we find *ellamu*, V R. 4, 127: *ša Sin ahe-erba šar māt Ašūr abi abi bānī'a illamū'a ikšudu* "(the city of Beth-Imbi) which Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, the father of the father my begetter had conquered before me," and Sarg. Cyl. 45 we read: *CCCL malke labirūti ša ellamū'a belūt māt Ašūr epušū* "the 350 old princes who before me exercised the government of Assyria." Why Lyon, p. 70 of his Commentary, writes *ēlamū* for *ellamu*, I do not know.

10. The word is, as has been remarked above, spelled with a double *l*: *ellamu*; *elamu* with one *l* means "high," not "before." The latter appears in Hebrew as אֵלַם, the name of Susiana ('Ελυμαίς, COT 96), for which in Assyrian the feminine form *Elamtu* is generally employed. Similarly we have in Assyrian *kabittu* "liver" (Zi. 29) for כֶּבֶד, *tī'āmtu*² "sea" for תְּהוֹם, *napištu*³ "soul" for נֶפֶשׁ, *zibbatu* "tail"

¹ On the relation of Assyrian *kabātu* to Hebrew כֶּבֶד see my remarks, *Andover Review*, July, 1884, p. 98, 1.

² *Tī'āmtu* is possibly, as I remarked, *Wāteh-ben-Hazael* 4, 4, to be combined with Arabic تِهَامَة, *Tihāme*.

³ Hebr. נֶפֶשׁ "my soul" is shortened from *napiššū* just as מַלְכִי from *malikī*; נִפְשִׁי "his breath," Job 41, 13, on the other hand, stands for נִפְשִׁי from נֶפֶשׁ* = Arabic *nafas*. נֶפֶשׁ, Is. 3, 20, seems to come from נָפַשׁ "to anoint," just as נָחַל, Assyr. *nahallu* is connected with חָלַל. נֶפֶשׁ is the same as Assyrian *ša ina libbi ippaššū* (for *inpaššū*) V R. 6, 21. Mr. S. A. Smith translates in this passage "to breathe," deriving the form from נָפַשׁ. But the impf.

= *eršitu*¹ "earth" for אֶרֶץ (Del. *Parad.* 131, 27.) The feminine ending, however, is of no consequence here, the chief point being that also in this word Assyro-Babylonian *i* is rendered by עִי. If, instead of *Elamu*, *Îlamu* was pronounced, why then do we not find עִלָּם instead of עֵלָם? We have עֵרָם Gen. 36, 43; I Chron. 1, 54, and עִירָ Gen. 4, 18. The LXX, to be sure, shows here that the name was not pronounced עִירָ, but עִירָד, גִּירָד, and for עֵרָם I Chron. 1, 54, we find in the LXX, ed. Lagarde, Αἰραμ. For Γαυδα = עִירָ cf. Lagarde, *Orientalia*, II 36-38; [*Mittheilungen*, I 196]. On Ζαφωίμ I cannot enter here.

Friedrich Delitzsch has shown (*Assyr. Stud.* 38) that *Elam* means "Highland." He combined the stem with Arabic عَلاَ "anything rising above the plain," used by the poets even for جَبَل "mountain." The development of meanings is the same as in אָמַר, whence اِمَارَة "mark," a synonym of علامة. This

Qal of this stem would be *ippušā*, the present Qal *indpušā*, and the impf. Niphal *innapišā*. Besides, "they breathed" does not suit the context. For Assyrian *pašāšū* (S¹ 1, 18 plene *pa-ša-a-šu*) see Zimmern 28, 2; II ZK 355, 45, and for the correct understanding of the Syriac forms *nēfiš*, *nafšā* compare my remarks *Wāteh-ben-Hazael*, 12, 1.

¹ So, not *iršitu*, we must of course read, *i* before a feminine ַ occurring only after a preceding *e*, e. g. *rebitu* "broad way," *belit* "lady," *berit* "middle," *ellitū* "bright," *ebbitū* "pure," etc. So, too, we have to read *ezzu*, fem. *ezzitu* "strong." Where *i* stands before the feminine ַ in the absence of a preceding *e* we always have the termination ַ- as feminine to forms ending in ַ, the ַ either being a stem-consonant or a derivative affix: e. g. *rabitu*, feminine to *rabā* "great," *mahrītu*, fem. to *mahrā* (= **mahraṣu*) "first," a denominal derivative from *mahrū* "front"; similarly *Aššārītu*, *Akkadītu*, *Ūrītu*, etc. Accordingly, I think, we should read *urqītu* "grass" *urqītu* as feminine to a noun *urqā* = **wurqānu*, وَرْقَى. The same termination seems to be in *qirbītu*.

Qirbītu, however, might stand for *qerbitu*, *qerbatu*, *qirbatu*, since *i* before *r* became *e* in Assyrian. In the same way the plural form *girreti* "road" is explained by the supposition that *girru* was pronounced *gerru*. After an *i* the *ā* of the feminine plural ending remains as a rule unchanged; cf. *šimāti*, *lītāti*, *idāti*, *simāti*, *hidāti*, *rīšāti*, and, on the other hand, *belēti*, *rešēti*, *neribēti*, *ešrēti*. A formation similar to *eršitu* is *erpītu* "cloud" and *elpītu* (Nimr. 45, 74; II R. 23, 36; V R. 27, 63; 40, 25; cf. also *erritu*, IV R. 45, 33 = *arratu* "curse."

will hardly be gainsaid. On the other hand, Delitzsch does not seem right to me in denying a connection between עולם and עולם. I do not believe that עולם means properly "covering." It seems to me the stem עולם is rather a denominal derivation of עולם. I believe עולם really means the "time reaching high up," *i. e.* "primitive time." The transfer from the remote past to the distant future may be secondary. In Assyrian, *ullānu* "height" and *ullū* "high," an intensive form of *על*, are used in the sense of long past; e. g. *ultu ullānū-ma* "for a long time," *ūme ullūti* "days long past," prop. "high reaching days"; cf. Franz Delitzsch's Commentary on the Psalms, 4th ed., p. 83, n. 1. Assyrian *elamu* "high" and Hebr. עולם, both go back to a ground form עולם, as it still appears in Aramean, whence it passed into Arabic in the form *عالم*. For the *š* in Hebrew, corresponding to the Assyrian *š*, cf. SFG 67, 1.

11. A further illustration of the rendering of initial Assyro-Babylonian *e* by *ע* in Hebrew is the name of the site of Paradise, עֵדֶן, which, according to Del. *Parad.* 79 (cf. COT 26) is = Babyl. *edinu*, Akkad. *edin* "field, plain" (S^b 1, 8).

12. Also the *e* of Hebr. עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂרִי עֶשְׂדֵּק stands for Babyl. *ī*, corresponding to Babyl. *īšten* "one." עֶשְׂתִּי in the connection of עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂרִי and עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂדֵּק is shortened from עֶשְׂתִּי just as we find alongside of עֶשְׂרִי שְׁנִים "ῥῶδεκα" with apocope of the final nasal עֶשְׂרִי שְׁנִי. For עֶשְׂ instead of Babyl. *īš*, cf. the name of the goddess *Ištar*,¹ which appears in Hebrew as עֶשְׂתֶּרֶת. If the

¹ That *Ištar* possibly comes from the same stem as the name of the god *Ašur*, *Ištar* standing for *Itšar*, a form like *mitgaru*, *šitrahū*, *gitmalu*, I communicated in the summer of 1883 to Lagarde, and subsequently to Tiele and Delitzsch; cf. Tiele in the Leyden Congress Transactions, Part II, p. 497, note. Delitzsch should have mentioned this, *Proleg.* 138, 2 and ZA I 421. In his *Hebr. Langu.* which appeared at the end of 1883, Delitzsch still remarked: "As to the name of the goddess *Ištar*, we must insist upon its non-Semitic origin." Whether the infixed *l* in *Ištar* is reflexive is not *a priori* clear. As the feminine *l* can be both prefixed and affixed, we might safely assume an infixing of the feminine *l*. Certainly the secondary affixing of the feminine *l* in עֶשְׂתֶּרֶת would not prove the contrary. This, however, is not so important, the chief point being, as I first recognized, that *Ištar* stands for *Itšar*, derived from the same stem as *Ašur* and עֶשְׂרִי. The *š* in both *Ašur* and *Ištar* is a *š*₁ =

ث; cf. Nöldeke, ZA I 270 [and ZDMG XL 742].

spelling *e-iš-tin*, quoted by Geo. Bertin, TSBA VII 371, from a communication of A. H. Sayce, really occurs, we should have to assume *ešten* as the Assyro-Babylonian form. In this case, *ešten* could have originated from *ašten* by vocalic assimilation. The initial *e* would then have to be regarded like the *e* of the infinitive forms of the verbs לָע in Assyrian: e. g. *šemû* "to hear," *tebû* "to come," *šebû* "to be satisfied." As I have shown in Bezold's *Achämeniden-Inschriften* (p. 54, s. v. קבע), *šemû* stands for *šeme'u*, *šame'u*, *šamd'u*. But whatever may be the case with the initial vowel, the *e* in the second syllable *ten* is certainly only a modification of *â*. The *â* has become here *ê*, just as we find in Hebrew alongside of the affix *ân* the termination *ôn*. So, too, words like *sur-qin-nu* "altar," *un-nin-nu* "supplication," *e-ri-in-nu* "box," *ur-ka-rin-nu*, the name of a precious wood, would, perhaps, be best read: *surqênu*, *unnênu*, *erênu*, *urkarênu*,¹ corresponding to Hebr. אֶרְכָּרֶן, אֶרְכָּן, אֶרְכָּן, אֶרְכָּן. The original *â* of *išten* is preserved in *ilu ištânu* "the one god," IV R. 16, 8^a (SFG 64, 4). According to Del. *Chald. Gen.* 277, *išten* is an Akkadian loan-word, a compound of Akkad. *aš* "one" and *tân* "measure, number." Kautzsch's derivation from עֶשֶׂת (Ges. §97, 2) is certainly not very satisfactory (Lotz, TP., p. 151, n. 1). On the importance of עֶשֶׂת for Pentateuch criticism I will not here enlarge. Giesebrecht's remarks in ZAT '81, 226 are not accessible to me at present.

13. I will finally mention *šedu*, the name of a demon (*plene še-e-du*, *ši-i-du*, S^b 175) which, as is generally admitted, is identical with Hebrew שְׁדִים, occurring twice in the Old Testament (COT 148); Deut. 32, 17 we read: יִזְבְּחוּ לְשִׁדִּים לֹא אֱלֹהִים "they sacrificed to Shedim that were not God," and Psalm 106, 37 יִזְבְּחוּ אֶת-בְּנֵיהֶם וְאֶת-בָּנוֹתֵיהֶם לְשִׁדִּים "yea they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto Shedim." Also in Eastern Syriac we have here plainly an *e*: שְׂדָא, *šēdā* (Nöld. §98 C.). It is true, the Western Syrians pronounce *šdō*, and similarly the Assy. *ši-i-du* may have been pronounced later *šidu* instead of *šēdu*; the original pronunciation, however, was certainly *šēdu*, not *šidu*.

¹ For the termination *ên* instead of *ân* cf. Syr. ܚܪܝܢܐ, *hərênâ* "another,"

Mand. ܚܪܝܢܐ, and Arabic الجُرَّان = الجُرَّانِ, whence الجُرَّانِ, Nöld. *Neusyr. Gr.* p. 107, n. 1; *Mand. Gr.* §118. Cf. also the formations in *în* like ܥܦܪܝܢܐ "early morning," Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* §132, [and Zimmern, p. 37, §].

These are the chief illustrations which can be adduced for the rendering of an Assyro-Babylonian *i* by *e* in Greek and Northern Shemitic. I shall now enter upon the second part, an examination of the cases in which we find an *e* in the cognate languages corresponding to an Assyro-Babylonian *i* in parallel formations.

II. Assyro-Babylonian *i* Corresponding to E in Parallel Formations of the Sister Idioms.

Here we must consider above all the change from *â* to *ê*, termed *إمالة* *Imâle*¹ by the Arabic grammarians. We distinguish two cases: (1) the cases in which the change from *â* to *ê* is caused by an *i* in an adjacent syllable, and (2) the cases where *ê* originated from an *â* without the influence of an *i*-vowel. In the latter instances the *â* is generally due to the quiescing of a guttural.

(1). In modern Arabic, e. g. *lisân* "tongue" is pronounced *lisaen*, *lisân*, *lisên* in the dialect of Baghdâd (Newman, *Handbook of Modern Arabic*, p. 22), and in Syria they say instead of *kitâb* "book" (according to Hartmann's *Arabischer Sprachführer*, p. 6) *kitêb*, with long *â* instead of *â*.

The same phenomenon appears in Syriac.² Instead of Targumic ܕܡܢܝܢ "ambush," we find in Eastern Syriac ܕܡܢܝܢ (W. Syr. *kēmânô*), and ܡܢܝܢܐ "recreation" is probably arisen from ܡܢܝܢܐ, both words going back like ܡܢܝܢܐ to a form *qitâl*.

In the same light, it seems to me, we should view the Assyrian forms *imiru* "ass" (= ܡܝܪܐ *himâr*), *pitiqû* "child" (II R. 36, 51c),³ *pišîlu* V R. 19, 36 and *pišîru*, Lotz, TP VIII 68. In *li-li-i-nu*, i. e. *lilênu*, II R. 32, 4 (cf. Strassm. No. 4810), I think we have not a form *qitâl*, but the affix *ân*. The forms *imiru*, *pitiqû*, *pišîlu* and *pišîru*, however, are quite certain, the character of the vowel of the second syllable being placed beyond all doubt by the spelling *pi-ti-i-qu*, II R. 36, 51c.

¹ Cf. Grünert, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, philol.-hist. Classe, LXXXI, p. 447 seq.; De Sacy, *Anthol. gramm.* p. 322; Ewald, *Gramm. crit. lingu. Arab.* §72; Kosegarten, §§99-102.

² See Nöldeke, §111; Duval, p. 214; Barh. 239, l. 11. Cf. also Schröder, *Phön. Spr.* §33, and Nöld. *Neusyr. Gramm.* p. 17.

³ *Pitiqû* appears there as a synonym of *mâru* "child," cf. Del. *Assyr. Stud.* 142. As remarked, *Parad.* 236, "child" was called *pitiqû* (II R. 30, 48d) in the language of the Suteans (i. e. 𐎶𐎶𐎶, Ez. 23, 23).

(2). In many words *â* becomes *ê* without the influence of an adjacent *i*. Here again we distinguish two cases: (a) the words in which *â* arose from the quiescing of a guttural, and (b) the words in which the *â* does not seem to be due to the quiescing of a guttural.

(a) In Arabic we find, for instance, *kêš* "cup" for *kâš* (Hebr. כוס), *kâ's*. This *kêš* is on a par with E. Syriac *rêš* "head" (ראש, Nöld. §98, C) = *râš* (cf. *râšû'a*, Senn. V 56) = *ra'š*. Here Hebrew has again, as in כוס, an *ô* obscured from *â*: ראש, only in ראשית or רישית have we an *e* also in Hebrew.¹ Likewise *bêb* instead of *bâb*

¹ In some cases in Hebrew we have, instead of a quiescing א, apparently a consonantal א with preceding Shêwâ and following vowel. Alongside of a form like ראש "head" and צאן "sheep," we find צאש "stench" (Am. 4, 10), which, according to the tradition, should be pronounced as a dissyllable *bê'ôsh*, and in contradiction with the forms ראשית (Deut. 11, 12: רשית) and ראשון (Job 8, 8: רישון), ראשיתכם, Ez. 36, 11; רים, Job 39, 9 and 10; plur. רמים, Ps. 22, 22 with quiescing א, we have צאר "pit," זאב "wolf," צאב "pain," ראם "wild ox," שאר "flesh" (Stade, §199b). In Arabic we have for these partly

qatl-, partly *qilt*-forms, cf. ريم, ذنب, ببر, ثار, كآب, رأس; so too in

Assyrian, cf. *râšû* or *rešû* = *ra'šû*; on the other hand, *širu*, *zibu*, *rimu* for *š'ru*, *z'bu*, *ri'mu*. In Syriac we find both for *a'* and *i'* an *ê*, e. g. ראש "head," צאר "pit," זאב "wolf," צאב "pain," for which the Western Syrians pronounce *rîšô*, *bîrô*, *dîvô*, *kîvô*. This might indicate that the Massoretic pointing of the Hebrew words זאב, ראם, שאר is due to an artificial vocalic distraction. It seems to me very probable that these words were pronounced in Hebrew as in Assyrian זאב, ראם, שאר. In favor of the traditional dissyllabic pronunciation ראם, etc., one might think of adducing Ethiopic forms like *re'es* "head" (alongside of *râ's*); but these Ethiopic forms are themselves very obscure. According to Dillmann, *Gramm.* p. 73, *re'es* was pronounced later *rees*, *rês*; so, too, *nêna*, *nehna* "we," with long *e* and quiescing breathing, instead of *nehna* (dial. *nâhna*) = Arab. *naḥnu*. This *rees* would then be on a par with Assy. *res*, E. Syr. ראש, while for *nehna*, *nêna* (Assyr. *anîni*, *nîni*, *nînu*) "we" the

quiescing of the ח in *remu* "grace" or Mand. תת "beneath" would afford a parallel. The question here arises: did *naḥna* really become, with quiescing of the ח, *nâna* (written *nâhna*), and then, through change of *â* to *ê*, *nêna* (written *nehna*), or did they really pronounce *nehna*, *re'es* with short *ê* and following guttural? To me it seems very doubtful, although Trumpp's Ethiopic authority, *Wâlda Šêlâsê*, pronounced (according to ZDMG XXVIII 531, 532) *nê-es* "youth," and *réh'eb* or *râh'eb* "width," as well as *nêh'na* "we" (*l. c.* p. 548). Praetorius's explanation of this curious phenomenon (*Ethiopic Gramm.* §16, 1, rem.) is hardly satisfactory.

"gate," belongs here, the stem evidently being באב, an incomplete reduplication of בא "to enter."

The same change from *â* to *ê* appears in verbal forms, *e. g.* יֵאָכַל "he ate" (Syr. יֵאָכַל (*iâkul* as the form is still spoken in modern Arabic), and יֵאָמַר (E. Syr. *nêmar*, W. Syr. *nîmar*) = יֵאָמַר for *iâmur* on account of the final ר. Cf. also Hebrew forms like תֵּאָתֶה "she will come," Mich. 4, 8; אֶהָב "I love," Prov. 8, 17 (alongside of אָהַב, Mal. 1, 2), וְאָחַר, Gen. 32, 5, "I have sojourned, I tarried." Here, to be sure, it is generally assumed that the צִיר is due to a contraction of צִירָה, as in לֵאמֹר for לֵאמֹרָה. Nevertheless, אָהַב as well as אֶהָב may very well have arisen directly from אָהַב = *a'hab*.

In Mandaean not only א, but, as in Assyrian, also ח and ע quiesce in a preceding vowel; *e. g.* בִּילֵא "husband," where the ע is treated like the א in רֵאשׁ, and שְׁמִית "thou didst hear," רִימָא "thunder" (Hebr. רָעַם, ψ 77, 19; 81, 8). Quiescing of the ח appears, *e. g.* in פְּתִית "thou didst open" = פְּתַחַת, תִּית "below" = תַּחַת, אֲנִי "we" = אֲנַחְנִי; cf. Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* p. 16, BAL 94, 2.

(b) The cases in which the *â*, which subsequently passed over into *ê*, does not depend on the quiescing of a guttural are relatively rare. In Arabic we find, *e. g.* *nêṣ* "he slept" for *nâṣ*, Hebr. נָם which, according to the usual explanation, is for **nawam*. Since *â* as second stem consonant frequently interchanges with א or (as in Syriac בָּהַת = בּוּשׁ, רָהַט = רִוִּץ, כָּהַל = כּוּל) with ה, we might assume for *nem* a form נָאם.¹ The same holds good for Hebrew בָּן "just" (Gen. 42, 11: בָּנִים אֲנַחְנוּ "we are true men"), E. Syriac *kênâ*, W. Syriac *kînô*. Arabic *nêṣ* for *nâṣ*, on the other hand, might be shortened from *inâṣ*, just as אָנַשׁ (Hebr. אֲנָשׁ, a form like אֱלֹהִים "God," Aram. אֱלֹהָא = *ilôhâ*) becomes אָנַשׁ in Syriac, and in *lêkin* = *lâkin* "however" the *ê* might be due to the influence of the following *i*, besides there was also in *lâ* primitively a hamza.

Sometimes the *ê* is due to the resolution of the doubling, *e. g.* Syriac *gêrâ* "arrow" = *gârâ* = *garrâ*.

In all these analogous instances we have in Assyro-Babylonian an *i*; consequently its primitive pronunciation must have been *e*. For E. Syriac *rêšâ* we have in Assy. *rîšu*, for E. Syr. *kênâ* (Hebr.

¹ Or *nêṣ* may be a contraction of *naim*, *nâ'im* = *nauim*; cf. *nimtu* "I slept" = *nauimtu*. See Grünert, *Über die Imâla* (Vienna, 1876), p. 26, 3.

כִּי *kīnu*, יֶאֱכַל (Syr. אֲנַכֵּל) appears, according to SFG 66, 13, as *īkul*, יֶאֱמַר (E. Syr. נִאֲמַר, W. Syr. *nīmar*) as *īmur*; the *ē* in words like *gērā* "arrow" corresponds to Assyrian *i* in *zīru* (plene: *zi-tī-ru*, II R. 62, 58) = *zāru*, *zarru*, *zar'u*, *zar'u* (Mand. זִירָא, BAL 90, 1). For Mand. כִּילָא "husband," we have in Assyrian *bilu* (plene *bī-tī-lu*) "lord," for רִימָא "thunder" *rīmu*, and שְׁמִית "thou didst hear" would be in Assyrian *šimit*. For the *e* in Mand. תִּית "beneath" = *taht* cf. Assyrian *rīmu* "grace" = *raḥmu*, *šīru* "morning" = *šahru*, for the *e* in Mand. פִּתִּית "thou didst open" Assyrian *naptitu* "key" = *naptahṭu* (a form like *narkabtu* "chariot").

Taking all these facts into consideration, it is evident that *i* in Assyro-Babylonian must originally have been sounded *e*. As pointed out SFG 67, it has arisen almost throughout from primitive *ā*; only in a few exceptional cases did it develop from an *i* under the influence of a following *r*, as in *unammer* "I made brilliant" for *unammir*, *uštešer* "I directed" for *uštešir*, *umā'er* "he sent" for *umā'ir* = **iūmahhir*. Sometimes even a short *a* became *e* under the influence of an adjacent *e* or *i*: so, *e. g.* in the form *أفعل* of the verbs *فَعَّلَ*, *etepuṣ* "I made" = *etāpuṣ*, or *etebir* "I crossed" = *etābir*, etc.; in a similar manner *šemū* "to hear" = *šeme'u*, *šame'u*, *šamā'u*, and *tebū* "to come" = *tebē'u*, *tabē'u*, *tabā'u*, *tabō'u*. In the majority of cases, however, the *e* is a modification of *ā*. It is true that this *ā* is generally due to the quiescing of the guttural, but the guttural had, as explained in my SFG 67, nothing directly to do with the change to *e*. At the time when *rāš* became *rēš*, or *bāl* *bēl*, the guttural had long been given up. The change of *ā* to *ē* is entirely analogous to the obscuration of *ā* to *ō* in Hebrew. I have frequently referred to the fact that Hebrew exhibits corresponding to the Assyrian *e* arisen from *ā*, an *ō* obscured from *ā*, Aramean having preserved in many cases the original *ā*. Cf. *e. g.*:

Assyrian.	Hebrew.	Aramean.
<i>imeru</i>	חִמּוֹר	חִמְרָא
<i>šumelu</i>	שִׁמְלָא	סְמִלָא
<i>rešu</i>	רֹאשׁ	רֵאשָא
<i>šenu</i>	צֶאֱן	עֶנָא
<i>ekul</i>	יֶאֱכַל	יֶאֱכֵל
<i>emur</i>	יֶאֱמַר	יֶאֱמֵר
<i>Šarrukenu</i>	סַרְגוֹן	

It might be well to add that this *ê* instead of *ô* occurs also in Hebrew. Maltzan, in his *Reise nach Südarabien* (Braunschweig, 1873, p. 176), mentions that the Jews in Aden frequently pronounce *ê* for חולם, *e. g.* *mêri* for מורה "teacher," *mêšeh* for משה and *Yêsef* for יוסף.¹ It is asserted that in certain parts of Russia the Jews pronounce *e*, or at least *ö*, instead of *o*. With this relation between צרי and חולם is evidently connected the fact that *y* was used to render *o* in Greek, while among the modern Jews, at least the אשכנזים, it serves to express an *e*. For America, *e. g.* they write אמעריקא, even באלטימארע for Baltimore.

In conclusion I will give a brief survey of the principal facts regarding the *e*-vowel in Assyro-Babylonian.

III. *Principal Facts regarding the E Vowel in Assyro-Babylonian.*

1. The Assyro-Babylonian *e* is not a diphthongal *e* contracted from *ai*, but in all cases an *Umlaut* of *a*. The best transcription, therefore, would be *ä* as introduced in my BAL for the first time and subsequently adopted by Flemming in his *Nebuchadnezzar*. For practical reasons, however, the transcription *e* is preferable. If any one wishes to use the symbol *i* he may do so, provided he connects the right idea with this *i*; *i* which was frequently employed before the appearance of my SFG is certainly objectionable, being based on an erroneous assumption. In Hebrew transcriptions of Assyrian words the *e* might be rendered by קגול or חטף קגול: *ušekniš* "I subdued," *e. g.* might be written אשקנש, *erêb šamši* "sunset" ארעב שמש or אריב שמש, the קגול being pronounced as in תמצאנה or ירדך.

2. The pronunciation of this vowel seems to have been like the *e* in English *where, there*, or the *ê* in French *même, fête*. In

¹ Maltzan remarks, however, that this *ê* is not quite so long as צרי. He means, I suppose, that it sounds more like *ä*, the Hebrew קגול. In Aden פתח קטן is not distinguished from פתח, both are sounded alike as *a*. The title of the chief rabbis in Southern Arabia, *Mêri* (מר'), is combined by Maltzan with Aramean קרא "lord, master," and this mistake is reproduced by König in his *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 38. But it is evident that מרי merely represents another pronunciation of מורה. The missionary Wolf tells us that the Jews in Šan'a pronounce *Môre*, not *Mêri*; so it seems to me there can be no doubt as to the identity of these two words. Cf. also Job 36, 22, where the LXX render מורה by δυνάστης, confounding it, like Maltzan and König, with קרא "lord."

Hebrew we find in parallel cases an *ê* obscured from *â*, while in loan-words the *e*-vowel is rendered as a rule by יֶצְרִי for Assyrian.

e appears in רֶשֶׁן, Gen. 10, 12 = *Reš-eni* (i. e. רִישׁ עֵינָא or راس العين), BAL 110, 2),² and in תְּנִלַּת-פְּלֶאֶסֶר = Assyrian. *Tuklat-pal-ešarra*.

Hebrew קְנוֹל is rendered by Assyrian *e* in the cuneiform transcription of the name מְנַשֶּׁה: *Me-na-si-e*, i. e. *Menasê* or rather *Mēnāshê*.⁴

3. The definition of *e* as being an *Umlaut* of *a* does not seem to suit some cases in which *e* developed under the influence of a following *r* or *h* out of an *i*-vowel. But even here the *e* is only a modified *a* corresponding to the Hebrew פָּתַח קָטָן or קְנוֹל in forms like יֶחֱבֵשׁ instead of יֶחֱבֹשׁ. *E* must be regarded here as a partial assimilation of the *i* to the following uvular *r*. In Hebrew an *i*-vowel is changed into a real פָּתַח under the influence of a following *r*; e. g. וַיֵּרָא "and he saw" for וַיִּרָא (Gesen. §22. 2 b, rem. 2; 5b).⁵

¹ Cf. the two Babylonian Shaphel forms in the Aramean portions of the books of Daniel and Ezra, וְשִׁיב, impf. וְשִׁיב = Assyrian. *uṣēzib*, Šaphel of *ešēbu* Hebr. עֹזֵב (BAL. 91, 2) and וְשִׁיבָא Ezra vi, 15 = Assyrian. *uṣēzū*, Šaphel of *ašū*, Hebr. וְשִׁיבָא; see Delitzsch's *Prolegomena*, p. 140.

² Dillmann's remark (*Genesis*⁵, p. 186), that Sayce's identification of רֶשֶׁן and *Reš-eni* was impossible, because the sounds did not agree, is not correct, *Reš-eni* was pronounced *Res-en* in Assyrian with a *ḍ*.

³ In the name שַׁלְמַנְעֶסֶר "Shalmaneser," אֶסֶר represents Assyrian. *ašarid* "prince" (II ZK 199), in אֶסֶר־חֲדָרִין it stands for *Ašur*.

⁴ Cf. also the name *E-ni-il Ha-am-ma-ta-a-a*, *Eni-il Hammatā'a* or *Havvatā'a* (III R. 9, 51), i. e. Eniel of Hamath or (according to Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 278) of the country of the Hiv(v)ites (Genesis X 17); cf. KAT 106, note; COT 90. *Eni-il* evidently means "Eye of God," the same name as *Ἐνυλος*, mentioned Arrian II 20 as a king of Byblos, on coins עֲנַל (Schröder, 179, 4). In the same fragment of the annals of Tiglathpileser II (III R. 9, 54) we find *Za-bi-bi-e* as the name of an Arabic queen (*šarrat māt Aribi*), and on the following plate (III R. 10, No. 2, 30) *Sa-am-si šar-rat māt A-ri-bi*, Khors. 27 more accurately *Sa-am-si-e*. *Samsē* evidently stands for *Šamšīje*, *Šamsīje*, and *Zabībīje*

for *Zabībīje* or *Šabībīje*, زيبية or شيبية and شيبية or شيبية, so the cuneiform *i* or *e* expresses here again an *ä*-vowel or *Umlaut* of *a*. In the Arabic names *Uāte'* (var. *Ḥayta'u*) and *Isammē'a* (عشمع) *e* represents the pronunciation of an *i* before a guttural (as in Hebr. יֶחֱבֵשׁ = יֶחֱבֹשׁ); see my *Wātehben-Hazael* (Chicago, 1885), p. 6.

⁵ Cf. also the name of the king of Ellasar (Genesis, XIV 1), אֶרֶץ 'Αριλχ = Babyl. *Eri-Aku*, *Ārīdaku* (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 224; Schrader, COT 120, below).

4. In some cases the original *a* is found alongside of the *Umlaut* *e*: e. g. *rāšū'a* "my head" instead of the ordinary *rešu*; *epašu* "to make," TP VII 74, instead of *epešu*; cf. *ušāšib* and *ušešib* "I caused to dwell," *ušāziz* and *ušezi* "I erected," *arratu* and *erritu* (IV R. 45, 33) "curse," *etanappašū* and *etenippušū* "they made." The shortened form of the plural ending of the masculine substantives appears as *a*, e. g. *šarre* "kings," *šame* "heavens," *me* "waters"; in the names of the tens the primitive *ā* is preserved, *ešrā* "twenty," *šilāšā* "thirty," *erba'ā* "forty," *ḥanšā* "fifty," like Ethiopic *'ešrā*, *šalāsā*, *arbe'ā*, *ḥamsā*. *Ā* in these forms is a shortened form of the plural ending *āni*, the change of *ā* to *e* being due to epenthesis of the final *i*. The name of the father of *Ukīn-zer* "Χίλκπος," given as *Amukkānu* in II R. 67, 23 (COT 226) may be derived from *amūqu*, the primitive form of *emūqu* "power."

5. It is difficult to state exactly under what conditions *a* is changed to *e*. In general we can say that *ā* due to the quiescing of an א or נ (i. e. א or נ) is preserved in many cases, while *ā* due to the quiescing of an מ, נ, נ (i. e. מ, נ, נ) becomes *e* as a rule. The impf. Qal of אכל (אכל) "to eat," e. g. is *ekul*, *tākul*, *tākul*, *tākulū*, *ākul*; *ekulū*, *ekulā*, *tākulū*, *tākulā*, *nākul*. The same forms of ארבו (ערב) "to enter" are: *erub*, *terub*, *terub*, *terubī*, *erub*; *erubū*, *erubā*, *terubū*, *terubā*, *nirub*. The participle Qal of אכל is *ākilu*, the part. of ארבו *eribu*, the imperative forms of the two verbs are *akul* and *erub*, the Shaphel imperfects *ušākil* and *ušerib*. The infinitive Qal of the verbs mediae מ or נ has an *ā* between the first and third stem-consonants, e. g. *mādu* "to be much" (מאד), *nādu* "to be prominent" (נהד); the infinitive of verbs mediae נ has *e*, e. g. *belu* "to rule" (TP 75). אח "brother" appears in Assyrian as *aḫu*, חם "father-in-law" is *emu*. The feminine to *aḫu* is *aḫātu*, the feminine to *emu* *emētu*.

6. Initial *e* is often, especially in the Neo-Babylonian texts, more accurately indicated by a prefixed *e*, e. g. *e-im-ga* "wise," *e-ik-du-ti* "strong ones," *e-ip-še-e-ti* "deeds" for *emga*, *ekdūti*, *epšēti*, since there exist no characters expressing a syllable *em*, *ek* or *ep* in distinction from *im*, *ik* and *ip*.

7. The *e*-vowel was primitively throughout distinct from the

i-vowel, but in the course of time it was confounded with *i*, as in Western Syriac. The characters for *e* and *i*, therefore, are often used interchangeably. In certain cases, however, the historical orthography with *e* was always preserved. In *scriptio plena* *i-e* may be written instead of *e-e* (as in *ne-e-ru*, *še-e-pu*, *be-e-lu*, *te-ni-še-e-ti*, *me-e*, *ša-me-e*, etc.). *Bi-e-lu* is *bēlu* as well as *be-e-lu*. Frequently the *e*-vowel is written *defective*, e. g. *ri-šu* instead of *ri-e-šu*, *ši-nu* instead of *ši-e-nu*. As there are no special signs for *re* and *še*, the characters *ri* and *ši* represent here the syllables *re* and *še*.

8. The *e*-vowel as *Umlaut* of *a* is different from the diphthongal *e* contracted from *ai*, the latter being written as a rule *i-i* like *i*, not *i-e* or *e-e* as the *ä*. There are no special characters in the cuneiform writing either for diphthongal *e*¹ or for diphthongal *o*². As I remarked, ASKT 166, §10, Assyrian script makes no difference between the vowels of נִיר "yoke" and בֵּית "house," nor between the vowels of שִׁום "garlic" and שִׁור "bull." Both are written alike *ni-i-ru*, *bi-i-tu*; *šu-u-mu*, *šu-u-ru*. I believe, however, that *ni-i-ru* was pronounced *nīru*, *bi-i-tu* on the other hand *bētū*, *bēthu*; similarly *šu-u-mu* "garlic" *šūmu*, but *šu-u-ru* "bull" *šōru*. We might introduce *i̇* and *ū̇* as a special notation for this diphthongal *e* and *o*, writing *bi̇-tu*, *šū̇-ru* in distinction from the vowels in *nīru* and *šūmu*. We must distinguish three different vowels: the vowel of רִישׁ (= ראש) "head," the vowel of בֵּית (= bait) "house," and the vowel of words like נִיר "yoke." I indicate these three different vocalic sounds in accurate transcrip-

¹ I do not know of an example for the rendering of a diphthongal Hebr. *e* in Assyrian. The name בְּנֵי-בֶרֶק, a village in the tribe of Dan, on the road from Joppa to Jerusalem, mentioned once in the Old Testament (Josh. 19, 45) appears, Col. II 66 of the Sennacherib Prism, as *Ba-na-a-a-Bar-ga*. Some Assyriologists believe that we ought to read *Banaibarga*. I think *Ba-na-a-a* should be read *Banā'a*, expressing a form בְּנֵי אַ, the *status emphaticus* plur. of בֶּן "son" in Aramean. Cf. Gesenius, §116, 6, rem. b, foot-note 2.

² *O* in foreign names is rendered by *u* in Assyrian. Cf. *Akkū* = עֲכֹוּ, *Asdūdu* = אֲשֶׁדֶד, *Udūmu* = אֲדֹמ, *Iappū* = יָפוֹ, *Isgallāna* = אֲשַׁקְלֹן, *Amqarrāna* = עֲקָרֹן or rather עֲקָרֹן* (Ἀκκαρών), *Hirūmu* = חִירוֹם (Εἰρωμος), *Hilbānu* = חִלְבָּן (Χαλβών), *Šidānu* = צִידֹן, *Puqūdu* = פִּקְדוֹ, *Ba'ali-ḡarāna* = בַּעַל-צַפֹּן, *Magiddū* = מַגִּידוֹ (Μαγεδών), *Mū'ab* (alongside of *Mā'ab*) = מוֹאָב, *Nikkū* = נֶכֶוֹ (Νεκός), *Pir'u* = פִּרְעוֹה, *Šābitu* = שׁוֹבֵת, *Ūnu* (V 2, 23) = אֵן or אֵן (Coptic ΩΝ) Gen. 41, 50; 41, 45; 46, 20; *Adunida'al* = אֲדֻנִּיבַעַל* (cf. Hebr. אֲדֻנִּיָּהוּ), *Tuba'alu* = Εὐθόβαλος, Ἰθόβαλος (cf. אֲתַבַּעַל, 1 K. 16, 31), *i. e.* אֲתוֹבַעַל.

tion by *e* (ä), *i*, and *î*, thus writing *reš* (răš) "head," *bēt* "house," *nîr* "yoke," or in Hebrew characters שֵׁשׁ, בֵּית, נֵיִר.

9. In most cases the Assyrian *e*-vowel is the *Umlaut* of a long *ā*, due to the quiescing of an *ā*, no matter whether the *ā* corresponds to an א, ה, ח, ע or ע. Cf. e. g. *rešu* "head," *šumelu* "left," *ekul* (for אָכַל, SFG 21, 1) "he ate," *ehuz* "he took," *himetu* "cream," *hišetu* "sin"; *šelibu* "fox," *belu* "lord," *ebir* "I crossed," *erub* "I entered," *ušerib* "I caused to enter"; *remu* "grace," *šeru* "morning," *pentu* "coal" (for *pemtu*, פַּחַת) = *ra'su*, *šuma'lu*, *īa'kul*, *īa'huz*, *hima'tu*, *hiša'tu*; *ša'labu* (ثَعْلَب), *ba'lu*, *d'bir*, *agrub* (أَغْرَب), *ušagrīb*; *rahmu*, *šahru*, *paḥmatu*.

10. Initial *e* in Assyrian frequently corresponds to a ح, ع or غ in the cognate languages. So we have, e. g. *eqlu* "field," *emu* "father-in-law," *eššu* "new," *eburu* "friend," *ebūru* "union," *eldu* (for *ešdu*) "harvest," *eklitu* "darkness" for *haqlu*, *hamu*, *had(a)šu*, *habru*, *habūru*, *haš(a)du*, *haklatu*; with *ā* and *ā*, i. e. *y*: *epru* "dust," *enzu* "goat," *ezzu* "mighty," *emātu* "union," *erpu* and *erpitu* "cloud," *ešrā* "twenty," *elī* "upon," *ebir* "cross!," *emid* "place!," *erub* "enter!," *ešātu* "darkness" = *ap(a)ru*, *anzu*, *az(i)zu*, *amātu*, *arpu*, *arpatu*, *ašrā*, *alai*, *abir*, *amid*, *garub*, *gaṭautu*.

With *ā* the change from *a* to *e* is not so common, but we have, e. g. *eršitu* "earth" for *aršatu*, femin. to أَرْض, *erba'ā* "forty" for *arba'ā*, *enšu* "weak" for *an(i)šu*, *erritu* "curse," instead of the ordinary *arratu*.

Even after initial *ā*, *ā* and *ā* *a* occasionally remains unchanged, as in *alību* "sweet milk" (حَلِيب), *annu* "grace" (חֲנִן); *agalu* "calf" (عَجَل), *adi* "until" (עַד), *atūdu* "he-goat" (عَتُود), *agrabu* "scorpion" (عَقْرَب), *aribu* "raven" (עֲרִב).

This modification of the *a*-sound after an initial ح or ع might be compared with the pronunciation of the فتح after initial عين in the Cairo dialect as described by Spitta. According to

Spitta (p. 38, below) words like *على* are pronounced in Egypt 'äly *عسل* "honey," 'äsal, *عالم* "scholar," 'älim, *عادل* "righteous," 'ädil, etc. Cf. also Ethiopic 'ešrā (Arabic 'išrāna) instead of 'ašrā "twenty," *ebn* "stone" for *abn*, *elf* "ten" for *alf*.

11. Very often the Umlaut of *a* to *e* is based upon a vocalic assimilation to an adjacent *e* or *i*. Here we must distinguish six different cases:

(a) *Ā* becomes *e* under the influence of a preceding *e*, as in *emetu* "mother-in-law" for *emātu* = *hamātu* (according to the preceding § 10), *remenū* "merciful" for *remānū*, *rāmānū*, *rahmā-naḡu* (رحماني), *belēti* "ladies" for *belāti*, *epšēti* "deeds" for *epšāti*, plur. to *epištu* for 'apištu, a form like *napištu* "soul." Cf. further *rešēti*, *terēti*, *mešrēti*, *tenišēti*, *neribēti* and the infinitive Qal of the verbs primae y: *epēšu* "to make" for *epāšu*, *emēdu* "to place," *erēbu* "to enter," *ekēmu* "to take," *etēqu* "to proceed," *ešēdu* "to cut off."

(b) *Ā* becomes *e* under the influence of a preceding *i*, e. g. in the form *qilāl*: *imeru* "ass," *pitequ* "child" for *imāru* (حمار), *pītāqu*; in the feminine plural ending *āti*, e. g. *girreti* "roads," *salimeti* "salvation," *šineti* "them" = *girrāti*, *salīmāti*, *šināti*.

(c) Short *ā* becomes *e* under the influence of a preceding *e* when it has the accent: e. g. *etēbir* "I crossed" = *etābir* (*atābir*), *etēpuš* "I made" = *etāpuš* (*atāpuš*), *eteh* "I ascended" = *etāl* (*atāl*), *eterub* "I entered" = *etārub* (*aḡtārub*). In cases like *etenippušū* "they made" for *etanappušū*, the *ta* was originally accented, the form *افتعل* being a secondary formation from *افتعل* with accented infixed *tā*.

(d) Under the influence of an *i* a preceding *ā* may become per epenthesis *e*: e. g. (α) in the Shaphel forms *ušekniš* "I subdued," *ušemqit* "I threw down," *ušeškin* "I made," *ušeḡlil* "I completed," *ušemḡi* "I caused to find" for *uṣakniš*, *uṣamqit*, etc.; (β) in the Iftē'al forms: *ilteqī* "he took," *apteḡi* "I closed," *ipteqid* "he appointed," *aḡterib* "I approached," *artedi* "I marched," *lupteḡir* "I gathered" for *iltāqih*, *aptāḡi*, etc.; (γ) in Pa'el forms: *urepiš* "I enlarged," *ukeniš* "I subdued," *unekis* "I cut off," *useḡip* "I prostrated" = *urāpiš* or *urappiḡi*, *ukāniš*,

ukanniš, etc. (cf. the epenthesis of the *i* in Ethiopic forms like *ifēšēm*, *išēšēm* for *iufēšim*, *iufāšim*, *iufassim*);¹ (δ) in the present Qal of verbs tertiae infirmæ, as *išēmī* "he hears," *iṭehī* "he approaches," *išesī* "he speaks" for *išāmī*, *iṭāhī*, *išāsī*; (ε) in the first pers. sing. of the impf. *i* Qal, as *eqšir* "I joined," *eptiq* "I built" = *aqšir*, *aptiq* (Flemming, p. 29), cf. the *qāl* in Hebr. אָפֵּטֵק or אָבֵּר. In all these cases the *a* seems to have had the accent: *ušekniš*, *išēmī*, *iltēqī*, *urēpiš*, *ēptiq*. In words like *Tešritu* "Tishri," *tešlitu* "prayer," *tesbitu* "supplication," the *ta* may originally have been accented, *tešlitu* standing for *tāšlīiatu* (تَصْلِيَة), *tešritu* for *tāšrī'atu*, *tesbitu* for *tāsbī'atu* from the stem טָבַע

(Assyr. *subbū*, or with partial assimilation of the *b* to the preceding *s*, *suppū*), Hebrew טָבַע or rather הִשְׁבִּיעַ "obtestari," I K. 22, 16.

(e) Unaccented *ā* under the influence of a following *e* becomes *e*. Of *ileqī* "he takes" = *ilāqī*, the 2 p. is *telēqī* instead of *talēqī*, *talāqih*, so too *tetehī* "thou approachest" for *tatehī*, *taṭāhī*, and *ertedi* "I marched" for *artedi*, *artādī*. The same change is witnessed in the infinitive of the verbs tertiae *y*, e. g. *šemū* "to hear," *šebū* "to be satisfied," *tebū* "to come." Similarly the infinitives of פָּתַח "to open," לָקַח "to take," נָסַע "to proceed," כָּסַע "to wash," חָפַע "to destroy," נָחַ "to be angry," should be read *petū*, *leqū*, *nesū*, *mesū*, *hepū*, *zenū*, not *pitū*, *liqū*, etc. The primitive form of *šemū* "to hear" is *šamāu*. This became on account of the guttural *šamēu*; the *ē* of the second syllable then changed the *a* of the first syllable into *e*, as in *teleqī* for *talēqī*, and *šemē'u* was finally contracted to *šemū*.

(f) While accented *ā* after a preceding *e* becomes *e*, unaccented *ā* becomes *i* under the influence of an *e* in the preceding syllable: e. g. *belit* = *belat*, constr. of *beltu* "lady," *šelibu* "fox" = *šelabu*, III R. 15, 16 b; *eršilu* "earth" = *aršatu*, *erritu* "curse" = *arratu*; *ellitu*, *ebbitu*, *ezzitu*, feminine forms to *ellu* "pure," *ebbu* "clean," *ezzu* "powerful"; *erpitu* "cloud," fem. to *erpu* (cf., on the other hand, *urpatu* in the same meaning, where the *a* remains unchanged), *eklitu* "darkness" = *haklatu*, *rebitu* "broad way" = *rebatu*, *rahbatu*, *raḥabatu*; *eqil*, *epir* = *haqal*, 'apar, construct states of حَقْل "field" and عَفْر "dust"; *neribu* "straits" = *nerabu*, *naḡrabu*; *metiqu* "march" = *metaqu*, *ma'taqu*; *medilu* "bolt" = *medalu*, *ma'dalu* [cf. μάδαλος]; *mesiru* "band" = *mesaru*, *ma'saru*;

¹ See, however, Praetorius' *Ethiopic Grammar*, §§39-41.

ešerit = *ešerat*, *‘ašarat*, constr. state of עשרה "ten," *tenešit* "man-kind," constr. state of תאנשה.

Cases in which the *a* is preserved like *šelabu* "fox," *belat* "lady," *elamu*, fem. *elamtu* "high," *epartu* (V R. 28, 68c), "garment," *mekaltu* "water reservoir," are relatively rare. In *enah* "he settled" or "it fell to ruins," the preservation of the primitive *a* is due to the following guttural.

I trust that the above statements sufficiently establish the existence of an *e*-vowel in Assyrian, being an *Umlaut* of *a*, and different from both the ordinary *i*, *î* and the diphthongal *î* or *ê*, contracted from *ai*.

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